

ADMINISTRATIVE-INTERNAL USE ONLY

21 September 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: Tom Cormack, Executive Secretary

FROM : Ken McDonald, Chief Historian

SUBJECT : 1981 Annual Conference of the International
Institute for Strategic Studies

1. On Thursday through Saturday, 10-13 September 1981, I attended the 23rd Annual Conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. The theme for the conference was "America's Security in the 1980s," and attendance was limited to 250 members of the Institute, with approximately 150 from the United States and about 100 from some 28 other countries. There was an especially large representation from Great Britain, Germany, France and Washington. I shall attach a copy of the program and list of members of the conference. Although I attended openly under Agency sponsorship, I am listed as at the Naval War College, where I was when I applied to attend last May. In fact, a good many of the titles and organizational identifications on the program seem to be out-of-date. The only other person attending from the Agency, so far as I know, was Harry Rowen from NIC.

2. All of the conference's activities took place at the Williamsburg Hilton and National Conference Center (which is part of the hotel). Conforming to long-standing IISS practice, the proceedings were off the record. Two discussion papers for each of the five committees and the opening address by Barbara Tuchman were circulated to the members, but there were no papers for the addresses by Caspar Weinberger or Henry Kissinger. In due course the Institute will publish some of the papers and proceedings in its Adelphi Papers series.

3. The program was organized into three plenary sessions, a panel discussion on U.S. strategic commitments and capabilities, and three sessions of committee discussions. Paul Nitze substituted for William van Cleave in the panel discussion, where former DCI Stansfield Turner also spoke effectively as panelist. Of the three addresses to plenary sessions, Dr. Kissinger's was most successful, Mrs. Tuchman's less so, and Mr. Weinberger's not really entirely suitable for this particular audience. It was, however, very good of the Secretary of Defense to keep his commitment to speak at the Friday afternoon plenary session, right in the midst of the defense budget cut flap.

4. The members of the conference were divided into five committees, whose chairmen, discussion topics and principal papers are listed in the printed program. I was a member of Committee 3, "The Super-Power Relationship," chaired by Michael Howard, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. Other U.S. members of this committee included Robert Bowie, McGeorge Bundy, Samuel Huntington, William Hyland, Paul Nitze, Edward Rowny, Stansfield Turner and Albert Wohlstetter. Benoit d'Abouville, of the French Foreign Ministry, commented on William Hyland's sound but conventional paper, "The Soviet Union in American Perspective: Perceptions and Realities," while General Rowny was

ADMINISTRATIVE-INTERNAL USE ONLY

Page 2
T. Cormack
IISS
21 Sep 81

commentator for Pierre Hassner's excellent and provocative paper, "American Policy towards the Soviet Union in the 1980s: Objectives and Uncertainties." The committee discussion was well-informed and generally interesting, but rather diffuse. Although there were a lot of set-piece comments that went on too long, there were also some very lively exchanges. It was illuminating to see some of these notables in action in the committee, as well as to meet and talk informally with such a wide range of political, official and academic members over the three-day meeting.

5. In the final plenary session Sunday morning Christoph Bertram, Director of the IISS, gave a brilliant summation of the entire proceedings, finding rather more continuity and cohesion in the addresses, papers and discussions than I had observed; his admirable synthesis will also be published in the conference proceedings.



J. K. McDonald

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Attachment:
As stated

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ADMINISTRATIVE-INTERNAL USE ONLY

Twenty-third Annual Conference

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA 10-13 SEPTEMBER 1981

AMERICA'S SECURITY IN THE 1980s

Chairman: The Hon. Robert Ellsworth

The proceedings of the Conference are off the record and are not attributable to Speakers, to Members or to the Institute

Programme**THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER**

1500-1830 Conference assembles
 1830-2000 Buffet Dinner
 2015 Chairman opens Conference
 Plenary Session: *The American People and Military Power in a Historical Perspective* by Barbara Tuchman

FRIDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER

0930 Plenary Session: *US Strategic Concerns and Capabilities* by Prof. Laurence Martin
 1030-1100 Coffee
 1100-1230 Panel Discussion: Dr William van Cleave, Niels Haagerup, Prof. Masataka Kosaka, François de Rose, Dr Theo Sommer, Adm. Stansfield Turner
 1300 Lunch
 1430-1530 Plenary Session: *The Security Policies of the New Administration* by The Hon. Caspar Weinberger, US Secretary of Defense
 1530 Tea
 1600-1830 Committee Discussions (see below)
 1930 Dinner
 2030-2200 Committee Discussions (continued)

SATURDAY, 12 SEPTEMBER

0930-1230 Committee Discussions (continued); Coffee at 1045
 1300 Lunch
 1815-1915 Cocktail Reception hosted by the US Committee of the IISS
 1930 Dinner

SUNDAY, 13 SEPTEMBER

0930-1045 Plenary Session: *The United States and the World in the 1980s: The International Context for US Security* by Dr Henry Kissinger
 1045-1115 Coffee
 1115-1145 Summing up by Dr Christoph Bertram
 1145 Envoi: Prof. Ernst van der Beugel, Chairman of the Council
 1245 Lunch
 1400 Conference disperses

Committee Discussions

- Committee 1: The Domestic Context** (Chairman: Prof. Hedley Bull)
 PAPERS: Congress and the Making of US Security Policies *Dr William Bader*
 Domestic Factors in US Defence Policy *Philip Odeen*
- Committee 2: Prospects for US Military Forces** (Chairman: Dr Theo Sommer)
 PAPERS: Strategic Nuclear Forces *Jan Lodal*
 Conventional Forces *Maj. Thomas Wheelock*
- Committee 3: The Super-Power Relationship** (Chairman: Prof. Michael Howard)
 PAPERS: The Soviet Union in the American Perspective: Perceptions and Realities *William Hyland*
 American Policy towards the Soviet Union in the 1980s: Objectives and Uncertainties *Pierre Hassner*
- Committee 4: US Strategic Interests in the Third World** (Chairman: Dr Jacques Freymond)
 PAPERS: The Middle East and the Gulf *William Quandt*
 Central and Latin America *Prof. David Jordan*
- Committee 5: America's Alliances** (Chairman: Niels Haagerup)
 PAPERS: Europe *David Watt*
 Asia *Dr Thomas Millar*

Members of the Conference

FR	Benoit d'Aboville	Service des Affaires Stratégiques, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris
GER	Horst Afheldt	Max-Planck Institut zur Erforschung der Lebensbedingungen der wissenschaftlich-technischen Welt, Starnberg
PAK	Nasim Ahmed	Director, Pan-Arab Publications Ltd, London
USA	Lt Col. Donald J. Alberts	United States Air Force
UK	Col. Jonathan Alford	Deputy Director, IISS, London
USA	Prof. Graham T. Allison	Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
NETH	Prof. F.A.M. Alting von Geusau	Director, John F. Kennedy Institute, Tilburg University
USA	Capt. Carl H. Amme	US Navy (retired)
CAN	John F. Anderson	Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy), Department of National Defence, Ottawa
USA	Robert Anderson	Special Assistant for International Affairs to Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
SWE	Prof. Nils Andrén	Swedish Defence Research Institute, Stockholm
GER	Frank Asbeck	Federal Armed Forces Office for Studies and Exercises, Ottobrun
USA	Dr William B. Bader	Vice-President, SRI-Washington
AUS	Dr Desmond Ball	Fellow, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra
GER	Wolfgang Behrends	Chief, Foreign Division, Government Press and Information Office, Bonn
AUS	Dr Coral Bell	Senior Research Fellow, Department of International Relations, Australian National University, Canberra
USA	Brig.-Gen. Harry E. Bendorf	United States Air Force
BEL	Prof. Stephan Bernard	Free University of Brussels
GER	Dr Christoph Bertram	Director, IISS, London
NETH	Prof. Ernst van der Beugel	Professor of International Relations, Leyden University; Chairman of the Council, IISS, London
SWE	Carl Bildt	Member of Parliament, Stockholm
ICE	Björn Bjarnason	Deputy Secretary-General, Prime Minister's Office, Reykjavik
DEN	Prof E. Bjøl	Professor of International Relations, University of Aarhus
USA	Robert D. Blackwill	Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State, Washington
USA	Prof. Lincoln P. Bloomfield	Professor of Political Science, Center for International Studies, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
UK	Go Capt. David Bolton	Deputy Director and Director of Studies, Royal United Services Institute, London
DEN	Otto Borch	Danish Ambassador to USA, Washington
USA	Dr Robert R. Bowie	Center for International Affairs, Harvard University
NOR	Jens Boyesen	Norwegian Permanent Representative to OECD, Paris
UK	David Buchan	Washington Bureau, <i>The Financial Times</i> of London
USA	Sheila Ray Buckley	Deputy Director (ISA), Department of Defense, Washington
UK	Prof. Hedley Bull	Professor of International Relations, Oxford University
USA	Prof. McGeorge Bundy	Professor of History, New York University
USA	Richard Burt	Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State, Washington
CAN	Dr Paul Buteux	Associate Professor, Department of Political Studies, University of Manitoba
USA	Dr Anne H. Cahn	US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington
CAN	R.P. Cameron	Director-General, Bureau of International Security Policy and Arms Control Affairs, External Affairs Department, Ottawa
USA	Dr Steven L. Canby	Defense Consultant, Washington
USA	Dr Albert Carnesale	Associate Director, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University
FR	James Chace	Managing Editor, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , New York
CAN	Jacques Chevallier	Commissariat à l'Energie Atomique, Monts
IRN	Arthur Child	President, Burns Foods Ltd, Calgary
BRA	Dr Shahram Chubin	Project Director, Regional Security Studies Programme, IISS, London
USA	Prof. J. T. Cintra	Centro de Estudios Orientales, El Colegio de México, México
USA	Priscilla Clapp	Department of State, Washington
USA	Dr William R. van Cleave	Program Director, Defense and Strategic Studies Program, Center for Study of the American Experience, Washington
USA	Prof. Joseph I. Coffey	Distinguished Service Professor of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh
USA	Melvin Conant	International Energy Consultant, Great Falls, Va
USA	Jeffrey R. Cooper	Senior Research Associate and Head of Department of Policy Studies, R & D Associates, Arlington, Va
USA	Anthony Cordesman	Department of Energy, Washington
FR	Prof. Pierre Dabozies	Professor of Political Science, University of Paris
SWI	Maj.-Gen. Gustav Däniker	Chief of Staff for Strategic and Operational Training, Swiss Army, Zurich
UK	Reginald Dale	Washington Bureau, <i>The Financial Times</i> of London
USA	Prof. Donald C. Daniel	Professor of Political Science, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey
UK	Ian Davidson	European Editor, <i>The Financial Times</i> , London
UK	Richard Davy	Assistant Foreign Editor, <i>The Times</i> , London
GER	Hermann Dechow	Head of Corporate Planning, Dornier GmbH, Friedrichshafen
USA	Dr Harold C. Deutsch	US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa
USA	James F. Digby	Rand Corporation and the California Arms Control Seminar, Santa Monica
USA	Paula Dobriansky	Staff Assistant, National Security Council, Washington
BAN	A. R. S. Doha	Bangladesh High Commissioner, London
USA	Prof. Paul Doty	Chairman, Department of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology, and Director, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University
UK	James Drury	Ferranti Ltd, Edinburgh
UK	Prof. François Duchêne	Director, Sussex European Research Centre, Sussex University
FR	J. L. Dumoulin	Military Correspondent, <i>L'Express</i> , Paris
NETH	A. E. M. Duynstee	Former Secretary of State for Defence (Air), The Hague
UK	Adm. Sir James Eberle	Commander-in-Chief, Naval Home Command, Royal Navy
USA	Charles C. Ebinger	Director, Energy and National Security Project, Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington
NETH	Dr W. F. van Eekelen	State Secretary of Defence, The Hague
UK	Prof. David C. Elliot	Professor of History, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena
UK	John Elliot	Head of Defence Intelligence Staff, Ministry of Defence, London
CAN	Maj. S. R. Elliot	Information Research Officer, IISS, London
NETH	Maj.-Gen. J. van Elsen	Netherlands Advisory Council on Defence Affairs, The Hague
UK	Robert D. Evans	London Editor, <i>Jornal do Brasil</i>
GER	Dr Hubert Feigl	Senior Staff Member, Foundation for Science and Politics, Ebenhausen
IT	Dr Luigi Ferro	Centro Ricerche sull'Impresa e sul Management, ISVOR, FIAT SpA, Turin
USA	Laurence Finkelstein	Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University, Dekalb
USA	R. Lucas Fischer	US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington

Members of the Conference

USA	James Fitchett	Diplomatic Correspondent, <i>International Herald Tribune</i> , Paris
USA	Dr Gregory Flynn	Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, Paris
USA	Dr Gregory D. Foster	Manager, Advanced Program Development, Science Applications Inc, Arlington, Va
USA	Richard B. Foster	Director, Strategic Studies Center, SRI International, Washington
SWI	Prof. Jacques Freymond	Former Director, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva
USA	Joseph Fromm	Associate Editor, <i>US News & World Report</i> , Washington
DEN	Cdr Hans Garde	Royal Danish Navy
USA	Dr Raymond L. Garthoff	Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, Washington
USA	Dr Richard L. Garwin	IBM Fellow (Physicist) and Science Adviser to Director of Research, IBM, Thomas J. Watson Center, New York
USA	Dr Leslie H. Gelb	National Security Correspondent, <i>New York Times</i> , Washington
USA	H. Donald Gelber	Department of State, Washington
AUS	Prof. Harry G. Gelber	Professor of Political Science, University of Tasmania, Hobart
USA	Charles R. Gellner	Chief of Foreign Affairs Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington
FR	Jean-Louis Gergorin	Director, Centre d'Analyse et de Prévision, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris
USA	Robert A. Gessert	General Research Corporation, McLean, Va
UK	Air Vice-Marshal J. A. Gilbert	Assistant Chief of Defence Staff (Policy), Ministry of Defence, London
UK	David Gillmore	Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London
USA	Prof. Elliot R. Goodman	Professor of Political Science, Brown University, Providence, RI
USA	Gen. Andrew Goodpaster	Supreme Allied Commander Europe 1969-79
DEN	Henning Gottlieb	Foreign Affairs Adviser to the Prime Minister, Copenhagen
GRE	Dr E. Gounaris	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens
UK	Dr Colin Gray	Hudson Institute, New York
USA	Dr Robert Gray	Assistant Professor of Government, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa
USA	William C. Green	Editor, <i>National Security Record</i> , Washington
UK	David Greenwood	Director, Centre for Defence Studies, University of Aberdeen
DEN	Niels Haagerup	Secretary, Institute for Foreign Policy Studies, Copenhagen; Member of European Parliament, Strasbourg
USA	Richard Haass	Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State, Washington
GER	Prof. Christian Hæcke	Hochschule der Bundeswehr (Hamburg)
GER	Prof. Helga Haftendorn	Institute of International Relations and Area Studies, Free University of Berlin
NETH	Prof. Victor Halberstadt	Centre for Research in Public Affairs, Leyden University
USA	Morton H. Halperin	American Civil Liberties Union, Washington
GER	Dietrich Hanel	Rheinmetall GmbH, Düsseldorf
USA	Joseph Harsch	Columnist, <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> , Washington
FR	Pierre Hassner	Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris
UK	Richard Hastie-Smith	Deputy Under-Secretary (Policy), Ministry of Defence, London
NETH	Martinus Heinsius	Lawyer, Brussels
SA	H. R. Heitman	Assistant Editor, <i>Allgemeine Zeitung</i> , Windhoek
EG	Brig. Gen. S. Helmy	Professor of Military Strategy, Egyptian High War College, Cairo
USA	Prof. Stanley Hoffman	Professor of Government and Chairman, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
GER	Dr Wilfred Hofmann	Head of NATO and Defence Department, Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn
UK	Clare Hollingworth	Roving Far East Correspondent, <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , London
NOR	Johan Holst	State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo
UK	Prof. Michael Howard	Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford University
USA	William D. Howells	Deputy Director, Office of Political, Military and Theater Forces, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, Washington
SWE	Lt-Col. Bo Hugemark	Royal Swedish Staff College, Stockholm
USA	Thomas L. Hughes	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York
USA	Robert E. Hunter	Former Staff Member, National Security Council, Washington
USA	Prof. Samuel P. Huntington	Professor of Government and Director, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University
USA	Prof. J. C. Hurewitz	Professor of Government and Director of Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York
USA	William G. Hyland	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington
USA	Robert G. James	President, Enterprise Development Associates, New York
USA	Alpheus W. Jessup	Associate Washington Representative, Exxon Corporation
SWE	Col. Bertil Johanson	Swedish Army
USA	Joseph E. Johnson	President Emeritus, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York
USA	Prof. David Jordan	Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, Charlottesville
USA	Jerome A. Kahan	Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington
ROK	Byung Kyu Kang	Congressman; President, Asian and Pacific Cultural Association, Seoul
USA	Dr Stephen S. Kaplan	Senior Staff Member, The Brookings Institution, Washington
USA	David B. Kassing	Center for Naval Analyses, University of Rochester, Arlington, Va
USA	Prof. Catherine McArdie Kelleher	Department of Military Studies, National War College, Washington
USA	Dr Geoffrey Kemp	Staff Member, National Security Council, Washington
USA	George W. Keros	Chairman, Dexter Research Center, Michigan
ROK	Prof. Chongwhi Kim	Director, Research Institute on National Security Affairs, Seoul
USA	William H. Kincade	Executive Director, US Arms Control Association, Washington
SWI	Christian Kind	Foreign Editor, <i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i> , Zurich
USA	Dr Henry A. Kissinger	US Secretary of State, 1973-77
USA	Robert Kleiman	Editorial Board, <i>New York Times</i> , New York
CAN	Lt-Col. H. P. Klepak	Collège Royal Militaire de St-Jean, Quebec
USA	James E. Knott	Assistant Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington
USA	Morton M. Kondracke	Executive Editor, <i>New Republic</i> , Washington
JAP	Prof. Masataka Kosaka	Professor of International Relations, Kyoto University
USA	Maj. P. W. Kozumplik	United States Army
USA	F. Stephen Larrabee	School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, Washington
SWE	Tor Larsson	Weapons Technology Department, National Defence Research Institute, Stockholm
FR	Jacques Laureau	Deputy Director of Strategic Affairs and Pacts, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris
FR	Pierre Lellouche	Research Fellow, Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris
ROK	Hyuck-In Lew	Former Senior Secretary to the President for Political Affairs, Seoul
USA	Flora Lewis	European Political Economist, <i>New York Times</i> , Paris
USA	Prof. Robert J. Lieber	Professor of Political Science, University of California, Davis
CAN	Dr George Lindsey	Chief of Operational Research and Analysis Establishment, Ottawa
USA	Dr Robert Litwak	Research Associate, IISS, London, 1979-81

Members of the Conference

USA	Jan M. Lodal	Executive Vice-President, American Management Systems Inc, Arlington, Va
GER	Capt. Helmut Lorenz	Messerschmidt-Bölkow-Blohm GmbH, Munich
USA	James G. Lowenstein	Former US Ambassador to Luxembourg
SWE	Dr Johan Lundin	Swedish Mission for Disarmament at Geneva
UK	Dr Simon Lunn	Director of Studies and Committees, North Atlantic Assembly, Brussels
USA	Eugene P. McAuliffe	President, United Technologies (Europe), Brussels
UK	Dr Michael K. McGwire	The Brookings Institution, Washington
USA	Prof. J. Kenneth McDonald	Professor of Strategy, US Naval War College, Newport, RI
USA	Dr Robert McGeehan	Director, UK Graduate Program, School of International Relations, University of S. California, Los Angeles
USA	David E. McGiffert	Covington & Burling, Washington
USA	Stuart W. MacKiernan	General Dynamics Corporation, St Louis
USA	Dr James H. McNally	Assistant for National Security Issues, Los Alamos Laboratory, New Mexico
UK	Christopher Makins	Consultant, Washington
UK	C. L. G. Mallaby	Head of Planning Staff, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London
UK	Prof. Laurence Martin	Vice-Chancellor, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne
CAN	A. de W. Mathewson	Chief of Policy Planning Branch, Department of National Defence, Ottawa
UK	James Meacham	Defence Correspondent, <i>The Economist</i> , London
UK	Dr Wolf Mendl	Head of Department of War Studies, King's College, University of London
USA	Maj.-Gen. Jack Merritt	United States Army
USA	Dr Thomas B. Millar	Professorial Fellow in International Relations, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra
AUS	Prof. Bruce Miller	Professor of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra
USA	Prof. Linda B. Miller	Professor of Political Science, Wellesley College, Mass
USA	Prof. Allan R. Millett	Professor of History and Director, Force and Policy Program, Mershon Center, Ohio State University, Columbus
USA	Jerrold K. Milsted	Vice-President, Seagram Overseas Sales Co., New York
JAP	Prof. Makoto Momoi	Dean, Faculty of National Security Studies, National Defence College, Tokyo
USA	Michael Moodie	Director of Program Analysis, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington
FR	Pierre Morel	Secretariat of the Prime Minister, Paris
USA	Bruce Nelan	National Security Correspondent, <i>Time-Life</i> , Washington
GER	Uwe Nerlich	Foundation for Science and Politics, Ebenhausen
NETH	H. J. Neuman	Director, Netherlands Peace Research Institute, The Hague
USA	Stephanie Neuman	Researcher, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, New York
USA	Paul H. Nitze	Systems Planning Corporation, Arlington, Va
ISR	Dr Nimrod Novik	Centre for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University
USA	Robert C. Nurick	Assistant Director-Designate, IISS, London
USA	Prof. Joseph S. Nye	John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
USA	Philip A. Odeen	Coopers and Lybrand, Washington
USA	Dr William C. Olson	Dean, School of International Service, The American University, Washington
AUS	Dr Robert J. O'Neill	Head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra
CAN	Prof. Nils Ørvik	Professor of International Politics and Director of the Centre for International Relations, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario
USA	Col. George K. Osborn	Associate Professor of International Relations, US Military Academy, West Point, New York
USA	M. R. Paisley	Manager, International Plans and Operations, Boeing Aerospace Co., Washington
UK	Sir Michael Palliser	Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London
USA	John D. Panitza	Senior Staff Editor (Europe), <i>Readers' Digest</i> , Paris
USA	Col. Cloyd F. Pfister	Near East/South Asia Directorate, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Washington
USA	Dr Andrew J. Pierre	Council on Foreign Relations, New York
SPA	Maj. D. F. Planells Boned	Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, Madrid
ISR	Dr Avi Plascov	Centre for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University
GER	Wolfgang Pordzik	Social Science Research Institute of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, St Augustin
USA	Dr Bruce Porter	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Munich
USA	Iris Portny	Formerly Congressional Affairs Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington
USA	Dr Wesley W. Posvar	Chancellor, University of Pittsburgh
ARG	Col. Luis Premoli	President, Centro de Estudios de Relaciones Internacionales y de Estrategia Nacional, Buenos Aires
USA	Joseph A. Presel	Department of State, Washington
NETH	L. van der Put	Director for General Political Affairs, Ministry of Defence, The Hague
USA	William Quandt	Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington
BAN	Waliur Rahman	Permanent Mission of Bangladesh to UN, New York
CAN	Dr Robin J. Ranger	Associate Professor of Political Science, St Francis Xavier University, Antigonish
USA	Prof. H. Howe Ransom	Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, Nashville
USA	Earl C. Ravenal	Policy Analyst, Washington
USA	Dr Olin C. Robison	President, Middleburg College, Vermont
CAN	Berel N. Dov Rodal	Senior Adviser to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Ottawa
USA	Robert M. Rhodes	Associate Professor of Political Science, Drew University, Madison, NJ
ROK	Jae-Won Roh	Chancellor, Foreign Affairs Institute of the Foreign Ministry, Seoul
UK	Sir Clive Rose	UK Permanent Representative to North Atlantic Council, Brussels
FR	Francois de Rose	Former French Permanent Representative to North Atlantic Council, Brussels
USA	Prof. Richard N. Rosecrance	Professor of Politics, Center for International Studies, Cornell University
USA	Arthur Ross	Vice-Chairman and Managing Director, Central National Corporation, New York
USA	George L. Rounds	The Boeing Company, Seattle
USA	Dr Henry S. Rowen	Chairman, National Intelligence Council, Washington
USA	Lt-Gen. Edward L. Rowny	Ambassador at Large, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, Washington
JAP	Kiichi Saeki	Chairman of the Board, Nomura Research Institute, Tokyo
USA	Nathaniel Samuels	Louis Dreyfus Corporation, New York
NOR	Prof. John M. Sannes	Former Director, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo
USA	Dr Warner R. Schilling	Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, New York
GER	Mathias Schoenborn	Social Science Research Institute of the Armed Forces, Munich
USA	Dr Enid Schoettle	The Ford Foundation, New York
USA	Dr Peter J. Sharfman	Group Manager, Military Studies, Office of Technology Assessment, US Congress, Washington

Members of the Conference

USA	Col. Graham E. Shirley	United States Air Force
USA	Dr Robert G. Schreffler	Consultant, Santa Fe, New Mexico
USA	Prof. Marshall D. Shulman	Director of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, New York
IT	Dr Stefano Silvestri	Vice-President, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
NOR	Jon Kristen Skogan	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo
USA	Leon Sloss	Leon Sloss Associates, Inc, Washington
GER	Dr Theodor Sommer	Editor, <i>Die Zeit</i> , Hamburg
USA	Helmut Sonnenfeldt	Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution, Washington
UK	Air Marshal Sir Frederick Sowrey	Former UK Permanent Military Deputy, CENTO
UK	James Spicer	Member of Parliament, London, and Member of European Parliament, Strasbourg
USA	Ronald I. Spiers	Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, Washington
USA	Dr Jeremy J. Stone	Director, Federation of American Scientists, Washington
USA	Dr John Strelau	Assistant Director, Social Sciences Division, Rockefeller Foundation, New York
GER	Dr Walther Stuetzle	Chief, Planning Staff, Ministry of Defence, Bonn
IND	K. Subrahmanyam	Director, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, Delhi
JAP	Susumu Taniguchi	European Manager, <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> , London
IT	Sergio Telmon	New York Correspondent, Radio-Televisione Italiana
USA	R. Terry	Rockwell International (Electronics and Aerospace), Arlington, Va
GER	Hans-Otto Thierbach	Former Member of the Board, Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt
CAN	Bernard C. Thillaye	Director, Strategic Policy Planning, Department of National Defence, Ottawa
USA	W. Scott Thompson	Associate Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Mass
UK	Sir John Thomson	British High Commissioner to India, Delhi
SA	Lt-Gen. H. de V. du Toit	Professor of National Strategy, Rand Afrikaans University, Pretoria
USA	Dr Gregory F. Treverton	Assistant Director, IISS, London
CHI	Dr Tsai Wei-ping	Coordination Council for North American Affairs, Washington
USA	Barbara Tuchman	Historian, New York
USA	Adm. Stansfield Turner	Former Director, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington
UK	Gen. Sir Harry Tuzo	Former Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SHAPE; Chairman of Executive Committee of the Council, IISS, London
NOR	Oscar Vaerno	Director-General for Planning and Research, Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Oslo
UK	Robert Wade-Gery	Deputy Secretary, Cabinet Office, London
UK	Christopher Wain	Defence and Diplomatic Correspondent, BBC Television News, London
UK	David J. Walker	Formerly Control Risks Ltd, London
INDO	Jusuf Wanandi	Staff Member, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta
USA	Col. Michael L. Wardinski	United States Army
UK	David Watt	Director, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London
USA	The Hon. Caspar Weinberger	Secretary of Defense, Washington
GER	Prof. Carl-Friedrich Freiherr von Weizsäcker	Former Director, Max-Planck Institut zur Erforschung der Lebensbedingungen der wissenschaftlich-technischen Welt, Starnberg
USA	Rear Adm. Edward F. Welch	Commander, US Naval War College, Newport, RI
USA	Dr Samuel F. Wells	Secretary of International Security Studies Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington
USA	Maj. Thomas R. Wheelock	United States Army; Executive Director, Carnegie Panel on US Security and Future of Arms Control
UK	Stuart Whyte	Counsellor in charge of Defence Questions, WEU, Paris
NIG	Col. R. O. I. Williams	Nigerian Army
USA	Prof. Samuel R. Williamson	Professor of History and Director of the curriculum in Peace, War and Defense, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
USA	Prof. Albert Wohlstetter	University Professor, University of Chicago
USA	Roberta Wohlstetter	Historian, Beverly Hills
USA	Dr Charles Wolf	Director, Rand Graduate Institute, Santa Monica
USA	Dr Paul D. Wolfowitz	Director of Policy Planning, Department of State, Washington
USA	David Scott Yost	Assistant Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARG	Argentina	GER	Germany	NIG	Nigeria
AUS	Australia	GRE	Greece	NOR	Norway
BAN	Bangladesh	ICE	Iceland	PAK	Pakistan
BEL	Belgium	IND	India	ROK	Republic of Korea
BRA	Brazil	INDO	Indonesia	SA	South Africa
CAN	Canada	ISR	Israel	SPA	Spain
CHI	China	IT	Italy	SWE	Sweden
DEN	Denmark	JAP	Japan	SWI	Switzerland
EG	Egypt	NETH	Netherlands	UK	United Kingdom
FR	France			USA	United States of America